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"The miseries produced by the *system*, must, in the end, if left undressed, *redress themselves*. Great power, which has been long growing together, however it may exert itself, however severe and cruel in its effects, will last a great length of time after its character is gone. A system of sway, such as I am contemplating, will maintain itself, a long while after it is openly reprobated by every man who lives under it. But, at last, the misery which it occasions becomes so intolerable, that it can no longer be endured. It is impossible; it is almost physically impossible, that millions of human beings should *quietly* perish with hunger, or with misery, which occasions death; which manifestly produces death. This is altogether impossible; because the inducement to preserve life by abstaining from violence becomes, in such a state of things, less powerful than the inducement to preserve it by the means of violence. If I am sure to die for seizing the dinner of another man, still I seize it if I am sure to die with hunger for the want of food; because, at any rate, by seizing the dinner, I secure my life a little while longer."—REGISTER, 10th August, 1816.

TO

SIR FRANCIS BURDETT, BART.

Kensington, 9th May, 1826.

SIR,

It is some time since I addressed a Letter to you. For reasons which I shall state before I have done, I was strongly indisposed to do it even now; but, I have, at last, had this indisposition overcome by your series of

uncommonly aristocratical endeavours during this present Session of Parliament; by the wanton hostility that you have shown, not only to all those principles which first recommended you to the people, and bade you talk incessantly about the "Regiment" and the "Crib," and led me as well

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[ENTERED AT STATIONERS' HALL.]

as others to hope that you would endeavour constantly to beat down that usurping and plundering Regiment; not only by this hostility generally, but by your direct unequivocal declarations in favour of the fraudulent paper-money, in favour of measures tending to make the food of the people dear, in favour of the necessity of a dominant class, having the millions at their feet, and, in short, in favour of every thing hostile to the happiness and liberty of the great body of the people. I have, indeed, perceived that there has been a slight whisper from you on the subject of punishment inflicted on regular standing soldiers in time of peace; but, from your lips, there has not, that I have been able to discover, been, for years, a single syllable in behalf of the suffering people. When, two years ago, a Bill was brought into Parliament, to weaken the monopoly of the grinding *brewers*, and to give the people a fair chance of avoiding the effect of that monopoly, not a word came from you in support of that Bill, which you saw chipped away, bit by bit, till it came to next to nothing. When the law was passed to add *transportation* to the other horrid punishments intended to preserve to the land-owners the exclusive pos-

session of wild animals, not a word of opposition came from you. When the horrid new trespass-law was passed, and the still more horrid law that made it felony to take an apple from a tree, not a breath of opposition came from him, who, only a few years ago, in an Address to the People of Westminster, told them that he held his estates as a "*retaining fee for defending the liberties of the people*." However, these things were passed; they were gone by, and might have remained unnoticed, had it not been for your recent conduct. The times are now of great importance: principles are now to be looked well at: the fate of the country is, in all probability, to be decided by the measures of the next twelve months: and, we ought, therefore, now, to look scrupulously at the opinions put forth by men who stand in your situation.

I shall first notice your speech on the petition from Paisley, which was presented by Lord Folkestone, on the fourth of May; and, that we may have every thing fairly before us, I shall first insert the petition itself, which was in the following words:

To the Honourable the Commons of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled.

The Petition of the undersigned, Burgesses and Householders of the town of Paisley,

Humbly Sheweth,

1. That it appears to your Petitioners, that of all the subjects which have engaged the attention of your Honourable House for many years, there is none so important in all its bearings, as that with regard to the Currency of the country.

2. That your Petitioners are of opinion, that the fatal consequences resulting from the circulation of Paper Money, are now too clearly demonstrated to require particular enumeration;—that from its very nature it is liable to be suddenly augmented and diminished in quantity; that such sudden diminution or augmentation is productive of the utmost embarrassment in the pecuniary affairs of the people among whom it is current. That while the quantity is increasing, it creates and cherishes a spirit of imprudent speculation, subversive of the patient habits of sober and persevering industry; that the inevitable effect of contracting the circulation, is a depression of the price of all commodities, and of property of every description. Hence ensue bankruptcies, misery, and starvation; the arm of industry is paralyzed; prudence, diligence, and honesty, are robbed of their reward; and all confidence between man and man totally destroyed. Such, may it please your Honourable House, is but a very faint outline of the appalling picture which our unhappy country at this moment presents.

3. That your Petitioners are fervently anxious to impress upon your Honourable House, that the distress and wretchedness which the people of Scotland are now experiencing on account of the drawing in of the base Paper Money, are absolutely

indescribable; that on this account, at least one-third of the working population of this town have been thrown out of employment; and that as no legal provision is made for their subsistence, their very existence is dependent on the precarious aid of charity. And your Petitioners are apprehensive, that were the vendors of that false money, which is almost the only circulating medium in this part of the country, called upon to pay their Notes in the legal coin of the realm, the same sort of deplorable occurrences might take place here, which have been productive of so much misery in other parts of the United Kingdom. For these and other reasons, your Petitioners are persuaded that the speedy introduction of a Metallic Currency throughout the whole Kingdom, is most essentially necessary, not only to restore domestic happiness, but also to preserve its existence as an Independent State.

4. That although your Petitioners are most desirous to see the fraudulent Paper Money superseded by a sterling Gold and Silver Currency, yet they are decidedly convinced that this object cannot be attained, without still farther lessening the amount of the circulating money; by which operation, the value of that which remains must be proportionally augmented; and, therefore, that it is obviously reasonable, that an Adjustment of all Money Contracts; a Reduction of the Government Expenditure; of the Taxes; and of the Nominal Amount of the National Debt, ought at the same time to be made, correspondent with that increase of value.

5. Your Petitioners do, therefore, humbly, yet most urgently, entreat your Honourable House to make such Enactments as will deliver the people of Scotland, in common with their fellow-subjects of the United Kingdom, from the scourge of a false and misery-producing Paper Money; and ensure to them the

benefit of a sterling Gold and Silver Currency; and, at the same time, to institute measures for a suitable Reduction of every branch of the Public Expenditure; of the Taxes; and of the Nominal Amount of the National Debt; and, also, for making an Equitable Adjustment of all Money Contracts.

And your Petitioners shall ever pray.

Paisley, 24th April, 1826.

Lord Folkestone had spoken in praise of this petition, as had Colonel Johnstone, who seconded his motion. Mr. Maberly then followed in disapprobation of the petition, and then, according to the report, you came in the following words: "Sir Francis Burdett said, that he did not agree with the petitioners in their reasoning, and he thought he was able to show that *one part of it was quite inconsistent with the other.*" He could not agree with his Noble Friend, therefore, that this petition in any manner deserved to be called *a manual of political economy* on this subject. No one could doubt that great distress arose, *not, however, in the way in which the petitioners described it, but from the interruption of all trade* which took place. The petition was founded, he said, in premises *false in themselves and arbitrarily assumed.*"

Thus, then, you condemned this petition. You say that its premises are false in themselves, and arbitrarily assumed. As to their being *arbitrarily* assumed, it is difficult to know what you mean, unless you be come, at last, to believe, that no assertions are to be contained in a petition, unless the truth of them be first established at the bar of your House. This petition comes, Sir, from the burgesses and householders of the town of Paisley, in Scotland. We have, during the last twenty-seven years, had many published papers coming from your pen; but, had we ever one written with such clearness, such neatness of expression, such correctness, and every way so excellently as this petition? Whether Lord Folkestone called it a manual of political economy, I know not; but, as to manner and style, it is worthy of being studied as an example to all future petitioners; and, as to its matter, let us now see, in the first place, whether its premises be false, as you assert them to be. The petition consists of five paragraphs, the second of which contains the premises which finally lead to the prayer of the petitioners. Read that paragraph again. You will find it contains five distinct propositions;

namely, 1. That paper-money is, from its very nature, liable to be suddenly augmented and diminished in quality; 2. That such sudden augmentation or diminution is productive of the utmost embarrassment in the pecuniary affairs of the people among whom it is circulating; 3. That while the quantity is increasing, it creates and cherishes a spirit of imprudent speculation, subversive of the patient habits of sober and persevering industry; 4. That the inevitable effect of contracting the circulation, is a depression of the price of all commodities and of property of every description; 5. That hence ensue bankruptcies, misery and starvation, and that hence the arm of industry is paralyzed, prudence, diligence and honesty are robbed of their reward, and all confidence between man and man is destroyed.

These are the five propositions, containing the premises of the petition; and, are you prepared to say that any one of the five is *false*? Say it indeed you have; but, with the present spectacle of bankruptcy, misery and starvation before you, are you prepared to prove, though with twenty thousand acres at your back, that there is one single word in these five propositions, which is not un-

deniably true? This was a solemn appeal to the House in which you sat, on a subject of the greatest possible importance: it was a subject, which, of all others was calculated to make men cautious in speaking of it. The premises on which the petitioners proceeded were most clearly and candidly stated. If denied, justice to them demanded something like proof of the soundness of the denial; and yet, out come you, without an attempt at any thing in the shape of an argument, and declare these premises to be false.

These petitioners pray for what was prayed for three years ago in the Norfolk Petition. They revive the great question; that is to say, whether there shall or shall not be a reduction of the interest of the Debt. They pray that the misery-making paper-money may be abolished; they pray for the currency of the King's coin. It seems a most unnatural thing that a great land-owner should object to a prayer for the King's coin to circulate; but, when these petitioners pray for a reduction of every branch of the public expenditure; for a diminution of the monstrous burden of taxation, how must men be surprised to find you of all men living, hasten-

ing slap-dash, and without any argument at all, to condemn that petition; YOU, who paved your way into the House by declaiming against plunderers, and who told the people, who assured them that no rational endeavour of yours should be omitted to restore your countrymen to the undisturbed enjoyment of the fair fruits of their industry, and to "*tear out the accursed leaves of the scandalous Red Book!*" What, when the sensible people of Paisley recollected this, must have been their surprise to hear a condemnation of their petition from you! And not a word more about the "*Regiment*"; not a word more about the bands that plunder the people. Oh, no; the Regiment is now become a sacred thing, and, as we shall by and by see, the people of France are to be censured by you, and their everlasting ruin predicted, merely because they appear to be resolved, that a "*regiment*" shall not be re-organized and kept upon duty in their country.

Leaving reflections of this sort for the present, let me observe that we have here upon record your reprobation of this, which will become a memorable petition. The petitions, containing a similar prayer, which came

from Norfolk, Herefordshire, Surrey, and Kent, came in some measure with *my* direct approbation; and, therefore, there were, doubtless, excellent grounds for rejecting them. Those from Huntingdonshire and Cambridgeshire were, indeed, liable to no such objection; but, now comes one from Paisley. A place with which I have not even the most indirect communication; a place which contains not a single individual, as far as I know, whose name I have ever heard; now comes a petition from Paisley, praying for all those things which the Norfolk Petition prayed for, and praying for them too, for reasons distinctly stated, and on grounds which no man has yet attempted to shake. And what answer have you to this petition? No answer at all, except a slap-dash assertion that its premises are false. However, here is the petition upon record, and here is your opposition to it also on record. The great question here stated, must come forward again, unless all disputing be put an end to by a terrible convulsion. You say that the petition is inconsistent with itself; and then comes this surprising assertion, that the distress does not arise from the cause stated by the petitioners, but from

"*the interruption of all trade!*" And is it not this precisely to which the petitioners ascribe the distress? They tell you in so many words that all trade has been interrupted, that industry has been paralyzed, that confidence between man and man has been totally destroyed; that this is the way in which the distress has been produced; and you tell them slap-dash that the distress has not been produced in this way, but by the "*interruption to all trade.*" It is well you talk in the absence of these petitioners: it is well for you that they are not upon the same floor with you; but, if they were, your prudence, as in the case of the "*regiment*" and the "*crib*," would induce you to eat your words.

Here, at any rate, we have you, enrolled amongst the heroes of "*national faith.*" You reprobate this sensible petition; and all I have further to say to you upon that subject is, that the day will come, when you will be held to your words, or will be compelled to swallow them. I have observed attentively all your hankerings after the paper-money, all your hankerings after the one-pound notes, all your hankerings after the Corn-Bill; and, yet, your want of pluck when it came to the

sticking place, that is to say, when it came to the vote. You censured the Ministers for their *too hasty* endeavours to return to gold and silver; you talked of the distress which it would produce in the country; and, on the very evening in which you bestowed that censure upon them, you did, when it came to the pinch, vote for Mr. Hume's motion, intended to compel bankers to pay by summary process, which unquestionably would have added more haste to the censured haste of the Ministers. Every word that you have uttered upon this subject, during the whole of this session, has been intended to prolong the duration of what these petitioners call the base and fraudulent paper-money, which the Ministers themselves have called worthless rags. You have your motive for this, and I will plainly state that motive.

You see as plainly as I do, that, without an immense mass of paper-money, or without a reduction of more than half of the taxes, farm produce must be so low in price as not to enable the farmer to pay any rent. You wish to have rent, for which nobody can blame you. Seeing, therefore, that you must either have the country filled with paper-

money, or must take off one half of the taxes, you have to choose between these two, and you choose the former, because you have not the industry and the courage to encounter the latter. Nothing is clearer to me than this, that the land-owners would gladly see the interest of the debt greatly reduced, or cleanly swept away, if it could be done without danger to themselves and their families. All other reductions will fall short of producing any salutary effect, unless this reduction take place; and this reduction cannot take place without other reductions and changes, which the landlords tremble but to think of. It is impossible that the interest of the debt should be touched, until the sinecures, the pensions, the grants, the enormous emoluments, and until a very considerable portion of that public property which is commonly called Church Property, shall be dealt with in a way so as to indemnify the fundholders in some degree to a just extent. You sat quietly in the House of Commons, and saw sixteen hundred thousand pounds *given out of the taxes* to the clergy of the Church of England. This money came out of *loans*, in fact. The money is due to the fundholders who made the loans; and,

would you take away the interest upon these loans, and still let this enormously rich Church keep the principal? It is a thing too monstrous to be expected even by that regiment of which you spoke in your address to the electors of Westminster on the 23rd of May, 1807. Yes, "the accursed leaves of that Red Book;" even these leaves do not contain the names of men who would have the audacity to make such a proposition.

The difficulty, therefore, is very great. When you wrote that address, your situation was different: you then looked only to the people, the common people. Since that time the gentry of the Red Book have become your favourites. You have been anxious on all occasions to curry favour with them. The clergy of the Church, the country-gentlemen, are become subjects of your loftiest panegyrics. Even the yeomanry cavalry, once denominated by you the body-guard of the Borough-mongers, are now become objects for you to fawn to. You seem to me to have nursed up in your mind the opinion and the hope that this thing will continue; that it can go on by the aid of paper-money. This seems to be a hope to which you most fondly cling. You are aware of

how little a man you would be, if a really great and salutary change were to take place; and my real opinion is, that Sidmouth himself would not contemplate such a change with greater alarm than you do. If such a change were to take place, forth would rush the talent and the energy of the country; men never yet heard of would instantly become conspicuous, and you would instantly sink out of sight. Therefore, not to mention other reasons, numerous and most cogent, you are for *things as they are*; now and then a little cavil upon trifles; but, for the "*Regiment*," you are as much, as decidedly, as strenuously, for its stability as any one of that immaculate corps; hence all your alarms at measures hostile to the paper-money, which, thin as it is, you know is the only prop of the system. Hence your attachment to that base and fraudulent thing, which the people of Paisley so decidedly reprobate, and the miseries produced by which are now manifest to the whole world.

So much for your opposition to this petition. I shall now advert to your speech of the 8th of April, on the subject of the *Corn-bill*; or, rather, on all manner of subjects, mixed up, higgledy-piggledy,

and as difficult to unravel as ever were the sayings of an oracle. Mr. Whitmore had made a motion for going into a committee on the Corn-laws. You voted in favour of this motion; but your speech, as far as it related immediately to the subject, was directly against the motion, and all the way through endeavoured to maintain, that the Corn-laws *had not a tendency to make corn dear*. If they had no such tendency, then the motion for which you voted was an absurdity; for, what was wanted was, a free trade in corn; that was the object of the motion; and why did you vote for it, if the free trade in corn would make no alteration in the price? Your speech is a complete ramble; a jumble of contradictions, and, indeed, of nonsense: but we gather from it, from opinions and assertions here and there introduced, a decided leaning towards every thing aristocratical in the extreme. I will insert, before I proceed further, the whole of this speech. It relates, as I said before, to all manner of things; but there are parts of it, which, as discovering your ultimate views, are worthy of attention.

Sir F. Burdett said that he differed from the Right Hon. Gentleman op-

posite, inasmuch as he (Sir F. B.) knew of no subject more likely to receive advantage from discussion than that which at present occupied the attention of the House. It was a subject which required to be discussed, and he should think the discussion which had already taken place, as well as that which he hoped would hereafter ensue, profitably bestowed. The observations which he felt it his duty to offer to the House should be divested of all angry animadversions, or insinuations against the measures or motives of certain classes of people—topics which he thought it would be wisdom in all to avoid.—(Hear, hear.) *As a Gentleman of landed estates, in the country, could he think with those who opposed the present motion, that it was likely to be detrimental to the landed interests of the country, he would have a direct interest in giving them that support in their resistance to the measure, which would at the same time enable him to preserve his own station in the country.* But he was satisfied that the true means by which to maintain that station was, to uphold the common advantage of society. He (Sir F. B.) found himself in this novel predicament, that he was about to vote for a motion without participating in the feelings, the views, or the expectations of the Hon. Gentleman who brought the measure forward. He did not think that the measure now urged would lead to the results which the Hon. Mover wished to attain, or which the opponents of the measure apprehended. But he would support the motion on different grounds—he would vote for it, because he was persuaded that the interests of the land and the general interests of the country were one and the same, and that they did not consist in the objects which the Hon. Gent. wished to see effected. With respect to an allusion made by a Noble Lord, who had spoken with so much elegance, and with a spirit of patriotism so apparent and so creditable to his heart, although he (Sir

F. Burdett) could not coincide in his views, or think that his judgment had directed him to a right conclusion, yet he could not help admiring the spirit from which his arguments proceeded. The Hon. Member, who seconded the Resolution, had urged one or two arguments in which he (Sir F. Burdett) fully concurred, and he had relied upon another position, from which he dissented. He agreed with that Hon. Member that the welfare of society was to be promoted, not by employing a great number of hands to produce what would, after all, be a small supply for the consumption of the whole people: but by creating a large produce by the skillful and well-directed application of the labour of a few. There were many who thought it a matter of discredit and reflection upon the agricultural portion of the community, that they were less numerically important than the manufacturing classes; but he agreed with the Hon. Gentleman who seconded the Resolution, that, on the contrary, it was a subject of great praise and honour of the agricultural body, that so comparatively insignificant a portion of the population in point of numbers, were able, by the aid of well-regulated industry, to produce a supply sufficient to sustain the entire community in a state of prosperity and abundance—for such, notwithstanding the impediments occasioned by partial and adventitious visitations, was the general condition of the people of this country. This result of the labours of the agricultural classes exhibited a spectacle not equalled in any country in the world. There was no other nation which by a third of its population was able to raise a sufficient supply for the consumption of all its inhabitants: yet this was the effect of the labours of the English agriculturists; four millions of the people being engaged in that occupation, while six millions were employed in manufactures, and two millions devoted themselves to the learned professions and scientific pursuits. This

circumstance gave to this country a superiority over any other nation in Europe. In France, for instance, whose population amounted to 30 millions, four-fifths of that number were employed in agriculture, and the remaining fifth composed the manufacturing classes. The redundancy of the agricultural population, and the small division of property in that country, created a consumption as rapid as the supply, and the necessary consequence was, that the manufacturers were poor and insignificant in number. The manufacturer could not be rich unless the agriculturist was rich too, and the agriculturist could not be rich unless a great return was made to the manufacturer for his produce. It seemed to him that this was the true state of the question. To say manufactures were cheap, was the same as saying corn was dear. It was giving a large quantity of manufactures in exchange for a small quantity of agricultural produce. The manufacturer and agriculturist must flourish and fall together. In proportion as the manufacturer's ingenuity could make returns to the agriculturist for his produce, both would be richer, and the mercantile interest would also prosper in proportion; because the consignment of the merchant depended on the quantity of manufacturing surplus. It was a great mistake to think there could be any separation of interests; they must flourish all together, and the foundation of the whole was the agricultural interest of the country; for without agricultural produce there could be no manufacturing produce, and no great mercantile concerns either. He would ask the men of the learned professions and the men of science, who were so largely remunerated, to cast their eyes abroad and see in how small a proportion, to what was the case in this country, men of the learned professions, or what was called the unproductive classes of society—though they were often, too, the ornaments of society—were remunerated in any

other part of the world. What was this owing to but the immense funds supplied by the agricultural interest? That was the source of all. The interest of that class, when well considered, will be found to be the interest of every other class of the community, and of the labouring class, as much as it was of the rest.—(Hear, hear.) His Hon. Friend near him had said among other things, that there might be great misapplication of capital; that Snowdon might be cultivated. It might; and it would be a great misfortune that it should; because how could it be done but by such a misapplication of capital—such immense labour and increase of numbers, that though you would positively augment the gross produce, still you would add so many more to partake of that produce, that the proportion between the gross produce and the whole population, would be in a more disadvantageous ratio than if the mountain remained an uncultivated spot. What was the wealth of a country? The proportion between its numbers and produce. It was that which gave a greater or less share to every individual. A country with a small population, but much gross produce, might be three times as rich as another country with four times the population. It was the great abundance of surplus produce which created wealth and prosperity. Had France only one-half her population, she would be as rich again as England; but she had an immense population, together with a system of law, which went to cut up the roots of prosperity for ever; which prevented the possibility of that accumulation of property which was the real source and precursor of all the rest of the wealth of the country. It had been said, that people were elated with that which was their destruction. It seemed so in France, for there the greatest madness had been shown in opposition to a law, which even if passed, would take a long time to restore her to a state of competent wealth. Gentlemen said, that the

people of that country were well off. *It was impossible.* Look at the laws of that country; it did not require to go to France to know that every generation had become still poorer than the generation which preceded it.—(Hear, hear.) It was to him clear as daylight, that France was a country in a deteriorated state from what it was, from the various operations of the law from the impossibility of accumulation ever taking place again—the country had, from day to day, been growing poorer and poorer and more and more impotent.—(Hear, hear.) He could not agree that the Corn-Laws had injured the working population of the country, on account of keeping up the high price of bread. To the labouring class of the community the price of any article was comparatively matter of indifference, but it was of some importance to those who employed the labourer. It was of importance to the master manufacturer. Though he wished cheap bread, yet he wanted remunerating prices. He complained as much as any of low prices. Look into the accounts from Glasgow, Paisley, and all parts of the country, and it would be seen that the stagnation of trade was attributed to low prices. That was the universal complaint, and the manufacturers, therefore, did not come with a good grace to complain of the price of agricultural produce. It was of no consequence to the labourers what was the price of the food they consumed. That depended solely on the state of the currency. Gentlemen talked of liberal wages. There was no such thing. Individuals might be liberal, but there was but one reasonable and just mode of carrying on trade, and that was, carrying it on for the benefit of the individual concerned. This question was relieved, as it was to be relieved, of all those topics with respect to the labouring classes. *It affected not the labouring classes; they were affected by different causes, and as far as they were concerned, it was of no importance*

which way the question was determined. They seemed also themselves to be tolerably well aware of it. He had observed a petition presented to the House, from a melancholy distressed district, Blackburn, that they mentioned the high price of corn only incidentally, but the gravamen of their complaint was the introduction of the power looms. This is what they petitioned against. The high price of corn was merely thrown in incidentally, whilst their complaints were directed against the power loom, by which a girl or a boy might do that which, in ordinary machinery, required a number of hands to perform. This was a hardship produced by the natural progress of society; yet it was a benefit in the end, to every one, and an incalculable benefit to the community at large. What was it but improved machinery, from time to time, which had raised the wealth of this country to its present height? To legislate on such a motive would be utterly subversive of all improvement and prosperity. The Hon. Gentleman brought forward this motion, and those who supported him, *fancied the Corn-Laws tended to make corn dear. He asserted it had no such effect.* Facts were uniformly against the theory. First, as to what was stated by the Hon. Gentleman who had brought forward the motion. He had said that not only we were distressed from the Corn-Laws, but that all those other countries where a totally opposite state of things existed—where corn was so cheap—where there was such abundance of superfluous food—there the people were in the greatest possible distress.—(Hear, hear.) That fact showed that there was no connexion between the one case and the other, and that distress might exist both with an abundance and a scarcity of corn. The country gentlemen were under a very great error. If he believed with them, that agriculture demanded the support of these laws, or any other measure, necessary for the purpose, *he should*

say plainly, as a landed man, that he should think it his duty to maintain his interest and that body amongst which he happened to be placed; but he had also the consolation of having formed an opinion which he could not maintain without maintaining the interest of every other class of society. Gentlemen would call to mind that, during all the time of the most flourishing agricultural condition of this country—during all the period of high prices—there was constantly a large importation of corn. He collected from that fact that there must be something wrong in the theory which said that the importation of corn necessarily produced low prices. For twenty years previous to the passing of the Corn-Laws, there was a large annual importation of Corn. The Honourable Baronet was then proceeding to make some observations on *free trade*, when there were loud cries of "*question, question.*" He concluded by expressing his opinion of the *great advantage which would be derived if a free trade in corn were established.*

—
This is the speech; and now for an endeavour to understand it. You say that you do not agree that the Corn-Laws have injured the working population of the country, by keeping up the high price of bread. And you further say, that the manufacturers do not come with a *good grace* to complain of the high price of bread, at the same time that they complain of a *stagnation of trade*. Indeed! What *bad grace* is there in their making both these complaints at the same time? It appears to my plain understanding, that nothing

can be more compatible than provisions too dear, and too little trade. If provisions be so dear that the goods cannot be made at a low price, and that thus the market for goods be lost, what can be more reasonable than to complain of the high price of food and of the stagnation of trade? The fault, say you, is not the high price of food. The fault is, you say, in "*the state of the currency.*" What, the state of the currency? Why, then, do you blame the manufacturers of Paisley for complaining of this unsettled currency? They tell you, that bankruptcies, misery, and starvation, are produced by the paper-money, by a fluctuating currency; they tell you that one-third of their working people have been thrown out of employment by the withdrawing of the base paper-money. You reprobate their petition; you say that their premises are false: but now, in answer to the complaints of other manufacturers, on the score of the Corn Bill, you tell them that it signifies not to the labourers what the price of food may be, and that that is a matter depending "*solely upon the state of the currency*"! So that none of these unfortunate men can please you: if they complain of the effects of an everlastingly-

changing currency, you tell them that their premises are false; and if they complain that they are compelled to eat dear bread, while their wages are low on account of a stagnation of trade, you bid them hold their peace. You say they come with a bad grace to complain of the Corn Bill; you say that it is no matter to them what price provisions are at, and that all they have to look to is the "*state of the currency*"!

In another part of this extraordinarily rambling harangue, you have thought it good to hash up a stale dish of the *Edinburgh Review* to give us a sort of feelosophical dissertation on the benefits arising to a nation from the raising of a *great produce with a few hands*. This is a favourite doctrine with all those who regard the people as cattle. I shall not enter much here into this new system of Malthusian philosophy, of which I showed the falsehood when it first came forth; but I shall just take an assertion of your's, introduced into this piece of purloined philosophy. After extolling the benefits to be derived from this great produce arising out of the labour of a few, you proceed thus:—"We are able, by the aid of well-regulated industry, to produce a supply suffi-

cient to sustain the entire community *in a state of prosperity and abundance*; for such, notwithstanding the impediments occasioned by partial and adventitious visitations, was the *general condition of the people of this country*."

I know very well what appellation this assertion deserves; but, suffice it to say, that it never could have proceeded but from ignorance the most profound, or from callousness of heart the most complete. What do you mean by adventitious *visitations*? What visitation has this kingdom had, during the last eleven years, during which time it has been in profound peace with all the world? It has had no bad harvest except one, and that produced no high price of corn; it has had no short crop: it has had no civil war; it has no known what pestilence was. Yet, thousands upon thousands have died with starvation within this kingdom. Four real famines have taken place in certain districts of the kingdom. There is one such famine before your eyes at this moment; and yet you boast of the system which you say gives us general prosperity and abundance. The visitations which we have had have arisen out of the changes in that base paper-money, com-

plained of by the people of Paisley, whose premises you assert to be false. You affect to ridicule the people of France, because they have shown a strenuous opposition to measures leading to draw property into great masses. Of this ridicule, I shall say little more at present; but I beg you to observe, that during these same eleven years, there have been *no visitations* in France, no periodical seasons of starvation, no grants of money from the Treasury, no subscriptions, no miserable contrivances to save from dying with hunger the wretched people, plunged into misery by the system which you endeavour to uphold. This being notoriously the case, common decency ought to have restrained you from taking upon you to predict that the people of France could never again be happy, unless they returned to that system of a "*regiment*," of which system you formerly spoke with such decided reprobation.

But, as to the fact which you assert, that the "entire community in this country is sustained in a state of prosperity and abundance," and that that is the general condition of the people in this country; as to this fact, no Minister, no one belonging to the regiment, not one man of all those

myriads who fatten upon the labour of the people ever put forward an assertion more destitute of truth, more unfeeling and profligate. If the present general condition of the people be such as you approve of, such as you like to behold, such as you think reflects honour on the country-gentlemen, as you say it does; if this be the case, you are the most hard-hearted man that ever breathed the breath of life; for I am sincerely persuaded that there is not one of those placemen whom you reviled for so many years, who does not deeply lament the present state of impoverishment and degradation of the main body of the people.

You who among other changes, have become, and, as I understand, at your own solicitation, a justice of peace for the county of Berks; in this capacity, if you fill it as you ought to do, you must know the wretched state of the labouring people in that county, and you must know the change which has taken place in that state within the last five and thirty years. You must know that, in the year one thousand seven hundred and ninety, the justices of the peace made a scale, according to which the labourers were to be maintained; that the scale expressed the quantity of bread that each person was

to receive in a week ; and you must know that the justices of the peace for that county have now fixed an allowance of just half the amount, half the weight of bread, which was allowed in 1790. You must know, too, that those justices now allow, to the labouring man who is at work on the parish account, not so much by one fourth as they allow to convicts in the jails of that county. These facts you must know. You must know, that these poor creatures make one half "*entire*" community as you call it, in Berkshire, where you have large estates. You must know this ; you must know, that this is the general state of the labourers of that county ; and yet, you stand up in Parliament and assert, that *a state of prosperity and abundance is now the general condition of the people of this country.*

You have great estates in Wiltshire, where, according to the published statement of your eulogist, Mr. William Frend, you have changed great numbers of lifeholders into rack-renters ; or rather, have made them no renters at all, but, by taking from them their share in those small properties which you look upon as being so injurious in France, you have reduced them, in all likelihood, to paupers. Evidence, taken before

Committees of the House of Commons, tells us that the labourers of Wiltshire formerly had bread, meat and cheese to eat ; and it tells us that they have now potatoes, and nothing but potatoes for dinner as well as for breakfast, carried to them, even in the field. Why, you must know the state in which these people live ; you cannot be ignorant of their state ; you have seen these reports and evidence as well as I ; and yet, you assert that the state of this whole community is that of prosperity and abundance, and that this is the general condition of the people of this kingdom.

You were a member of Parliament in the year 1821. You saw, or you ought to have seen, what is called an agricultural report, made to the House of Commons in that year. In the evidence attached to that report you saw the clearest proof that the wages of labour, compared with the price of food, had fallen off one half in the course of thirty years. You saw several witnesses bearing testimony to the constantly increasing misery of the labouring classes. You saw Mr. Ellman the elder expressly state that forty-five years ago every man in his parish brewed his own beer, and that now not a man did it. Was

there not matter here for you, the friend of the people, to make a subject of inquiry and discussion? Did you ever do it? Not a word did the interesting statement ever draw from your lips. Your tender heart was taken up with anxiety about the backs of those soldiers, who had voluntarily subjected themselves to that species of discipline, and whose backs were well clothed, and whose bellies were well filled. You can coolly, as a magistrate of Berkshire, allot to the poor labouring man less than jail-allowance, while you see the lowest of common soldiers receiving seven shillings and sevenpence a week, together with clothing, fuel, candle and lodging; and, while all this is notorious, you talk as coolly about the prosperity and abundance in which the people live, as if they were feeding and were dressed like the people of Pennsylvania or Connecticut; and you even boast of the spectacle which this country now presents to the world. Your doctrine, relative to the benefit of small numbers and great produce, would be curious if we could not at once trace it to the Scotch and the Malthus school. You seem to have been so full of the doctrines of Malthus, that you went out of your way to preach them to that extent

that the House at last silenced you by the cries of "*question, question.*" Enamoured with this doctrine, fearing apparently that the mouths would at last want to participate in the food, and that a time might come when English labourers might not be content to live on potatoes and potatoes alone, you take this opportunity of censuring the people of France for their having exulted at the defect of a project, which, as you say, would have caused a "*surplus produce*" and an "*accumulation of property.*" You begin by asking "*what is the wealth of a country?*" And then you tell us, that it consists of an "*accumulation of property,*" and that this is to take place by the people, who cultivate the land, rearing a great deal more than they themselves consume. That is to say, your notion of national wealth is, that those who till the earth ought to consume very little of the fruit, but ought to let it go and accumulate in the hands of others. This is your notion of national wealth. And therefore it is not surprising that you should condemn the people of France who have prevented the passing of a law which had a tendency to prevent such transfer and accumulation. Then comes your monstrous assertion, that if France had

only one half of her population, she would be as rich again as England. This is precisely the doctrine of the Edinburgh Reviewers and of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, improved upon by the beastly Westminster rump, and promulgated by its beastly agent, Carlile, who have, altogether, and by their joint efforts, now covered the English press with infamy everlasting, by putting forth recipes for the prevention of breeding, the most obscene that ever polluted paper and print. I do not wish to be thought to suppose that you approve of these atrocious publications; but, to this your doctrines tend. You think the people too numerous. You would prevent their increase. You would diminish their numbers, and the Rump and Carlile show us the beastly means.

Now, I am of a directly opposite opinion. The less one man works for another man, the better is the state of society; and have we not experience to prove to us that this is the fact? We hear of no starvation in France. You, indeed, tell us that the people there have grown poorer and poorer, and that you know this without going to France to see the proof of it. You tell us that it is said, that the people of France are *well off*; but

that you know it to be impossible. This is a strange way of maintaining an argument; but you are resolved that, unless the many work for the benefit of the few, all shall be misery and impotence.

The precise nature of the law which has been rejected in France, I know not; but this I know, that the people regarded it as a step towards a return to that which would cause a smaller number of proprietors, and cause that accumulation of property for which you are so strenuous an advocate. You seem to have forgotten that there was another country, in which this accumulation is likewise provided against. You seem to have forgotten that the state of America gave a flat denial to all your doctrine. If accumulations of property take place there, and take place they will there, and in France, to a great extent, in spite of all laws to prevent them; if accumulations of property take place in America, they are not produced, as they are here, by the fruit of the labours of one man being transferred to another; for there the labouring man lives as well as the proprietor of the soil himself does.

What is this notion of your's, that you double the riches of a country by getting rid of one half

of her people? There is something monstrous in the very sound of it. Until these days, kings and princes estimated the greatness of their country by the number of its people. If a given quantity of food be raised, and a large part of the people be compelled to live upon potatoes, while the good food is taken away and given to those who do not work, how can the wealth of the nation be thereby augmented? Is not the nation a greater nation, if the food be pretty equally distributed amongst ten millions of men, than it would be if the ten millions were reduced to five, and if the half of them lived upon potatoes and gave up all the good food to the rest? The struggle between the people and the government of France has been this. The land is in numerous hands, and the people wish it to remain thus instead of being put into fewer hands; and you call the people of France mad, on account of this their desire; you call them mad because they wish to prevent a comparatively small number of men from drawing property into large masses, and from being the masters of all the rest.

The absurdities and inconsistencies of this rambling harangue are without end. You say, in one place, that manufacturing ma-

chinery is an incalculable benefit to the country, and that "it is *that* which has raised the wealth of the country to its present height." In another part of your speech, you say, that it is "the immense funds supplied by the agricultural interest, which is the source of all our wealth."

So that here are two sources, each of which is the cause of all our wealth. However, to notice all the absurdities and contradictions in this speech, is much more than I have leisure to do at present. Your main object seems to have been to cause it to be believed, if possible, that the people were quite well enough off; and that it was an error to suppose that they could derive any benefit from an abolition of the Corn-Laws. You positively denied that those laws tended to make corn dear; you denied that the importation of corn produced low prices; and there is the fact staring you in the face, that corn has fallen five shillings a quarter in one week, in consequence of a resolution of the House to let in a trifling quantity of bonded corn! You repeatedly assert that the importation of corn has no effect upon the price. You repeatedly assert that to lower the price of corn would be no benefit to the manufacturers or to any

part of the people. You chop about backward and forward a good deal, it is true; but you return again and again to the charge, that nobody is injured by the high price of bread; and yet, at last, when you begin to talk of free trade, and are frightened at the sound of "*question, question, question,*" you hastily conclude by saying that "*great advantage would be derived from a free trade in corn*"! Your ramble had apparently exhausted the patience of the House, and you finished with a phrase that might be a salvo to the whole tenour of the speech.

Twice in the course of this speech, you asserted your right, as a landed man, to maintain the interest of your cast. In the beginning of the speech, there are these words, "As a gentleman of landed estates in the country, could he think with those who opposed the present motion that it was likely to be detrimental to the landed interest of the country, he should have a direct interest in giving them that support in their resistance, which would enable him to preserve his own station in the country." Towards the close of the speech we have these words: "If he believed that agriculture demanded the support of these laws, or

"any other measure necessary for the purpose, he should say plainly, as a landed man, that he should think it *his duty* to maintain his interest and that of the body amongst which he happened to be placed." This doctrine, this political morality, has, at any rate, the recommendation of novelty. It differs materially from the doctrine of your letter to the Electors of Westminster in 1819, when you declared that you held your estates as a *retaining fee* for defending the rights and liberties of the people. As a member for Westminster, your most imperative duty is to defend the rights, liberties and properties of the people of that city. Out of the House, indeed, your own interests may laudably be the object of a great portion of your care; but never did the people of Westminster; never did even the Westminster Rump, send you into that House to maintain the interest of the landlords, or of anybody else connected with the land; and the principle which you have broached here, and which was never, I believe, broached before, even by any member of that House, is a principle as destitute of decency, and as mischievous in its tendency, as any thing ever broached by Castlereagh himself.

I have now done with this

speech. For some time I suffered it to remain unnoticed; and my reason for doing so I will now give. By certain friends it was announced to me, by showing me the copy of a letter from under your own hand, that you were, or were to be, a subscriber to the fund for defraying the expenses of my intended election. These friends prevailed upon me to refrain from censuring this speech; from speaking of it even in the manner in which they themselves spoke. I assented to their wishes; but, when I saw your attack upon the petition from Paisley, which was, in fact, an attack upon those principles to endeavour to enforce which, and for that purpose only, I am at all desirous of sitting in the Parliament; when I saw that attack, I felt that it would be infamy to keep silence, and especially from the motive of procuring by that silence, any portion of the means necessary to accomplish an end, gratifying to myself. This is the true cause of the delay in noticing this that I deem most unwarrantable speech; most daring attack upon every thing most dear to the people of England. Your endeavours, be they as artful and as strenuous as they may, will never make the people believe that Corn-Bills tend to

their good. I know well, that rents cannot be paid in any thing like approaching a gold and silver currency, unless there be a law effectually to shut out foreign corn; or, unless the taxes be reduced in amount one-half; but, I want the taxes reduced one-half; and that is a subject upon which you never say a word. The reasons why you do not I have before stated. I do not wish to deprive the landlords of rents. I know that it is just, and not only just, but for the good and happiness of us all, that the landlords should retain their station in society; but, it is not just, and it is far from the good of us all, that they should, by a tax on bread, throw the whole of the burthens on the rest of the community. Let them come forward and propose a reduction of the taxes. If they will do that, the rest of the community will cordially join them. If they will not do that, let them go without rents; or, at least, let them not be suffered to be protected from loss, while all the rest of the community are losing. The import-duty of 12s. a quarter on wheat, and the duty imposed on other sorts of grain, tell us precisely what taxes we pay to put rents into landlords' pockets. This is the plain state of the case. If

you take off the duty; if you take off this tax on bread, you prevent your tenants from paying your rents; that is to say, unless you make a sweep at the taxes. Make a sweep at the taxes, and you will have rents without any tax on bread. The good of taking off taxes will be felt by every creature in the community: the manufacturer will have wages proportioned to the price of his food. Skeletons will no longer prowl about the fields; we shall all be well off, and all will be harmony and happiness. The remedy is therefore with yourselves: you may apply it whenever you please: apply it, and you have my hearty approbation and thanks: apply it not, and if the last man of you go to the workhouse, you will go there with the scorn and contempt of

WM. COBBETT.

P. S. Since writing the above, I have read the report of the proceedings at the Common Council in London, and, in that report, the following speech from Mr. HUNTER. I beg you to look at it, and to reflect, at the same time, on what you have said about that abundance and that prosperity, in which, as you assert, the people in this country live.

Mr. Hunter, in supporting the motion, said he had received the following letter from a Manchester manufacturer, or whose veracity he had every confidence:—"A very worthy poor weaver, named Jonathan, applied to his master, about three weeks since, begging earnestly for work, stating that he was in great want, and would thankfully do any thing for the means of supporting his existence. His master assured him he did not want any more goods, his stock already being very heavy without any sale, and that he could not give out more work to any one. The man pressed very much, and at length his master said, 'Well, Jonathan, if it is absolutely necessary for you to weave a piece, to prevent you from starving, I will let you have it, but I cannot give you more than one shilling for it (two shillings a piece is the regular price), for I really do not want any more goods made up for a long time to come.'—"Let me have it master, I beg," said the poor man, 'whatever you pay me for it; pray let me have it.' The piece was given to him to weave, and at the end of two days, he brought it home, and on carrying it to his master, begged of him to give him eighteen-pence for it, saying how much he was distressed for the money. His master paid him the eighteen-pence, and the man went away. The master feeling very uncomfortable about the poor man, and thinking the earnestness of his manner must arise from excessive want, determined on following him home. He found the wife alone in the lower room making a little gruel over a poor fire. 'Well, Mary,' said he, 'where is Jonathan?'—"Oh, Sir," said she, 'he is just come in from your house, and being very faint and weary, he is just gone to lie down in his bed.'—"I think I'll go up and see him," Mary, said the master; and immediately he went up to the upper room, where he saw the poor man just in the agonies of death, with his mouth open and his hands clenched,

and after a short convulsion, *he expired.* The master was very much distressed, and came down stairs, hoping to be able to save the wife, who was in a very emaciated condition—she had just poured the gruel into a basin, intending to carry it up to her husband. The master said, Come, Mary, take a little yourself first.—‘No, Sir,’ said she, ‘not a drop will I take, till Jonathan has had some. Neither of us have had *any thing but water within our lips the two days we were weaving your piece,* and I thought it best to make a little gruel for us before we took any thing stronger, as it is *so long since we tasted food.*’ Finding he could not prevail on her to touch the gruel, he was obliged to tell her that her husband was dead. The poor woman set down the basin of gruel, *sank on the floor, and immediately expired.*”

This is, perhaps, only one instance out of thousands upon thousands. The Irish papers tell us that hundreds are starved, actually have starved to death within these few weeks. You assert that the people of France *cannot* be well off, because there is so great a number of small proprietors of the land, and because there are so few, comparatively, of manufacturers. This shows your supreme ignorance of the state of France, where the far greater part of the manufacturing is carried on under the same roof where the tillers of the land live. You seem to have read nothing and to know nothing, to lead you to just conclusions upon these subjects. You seem to have collected together a parcel

of the scraps of the Scotch philosophy, which regards as wealth nothing but property drawn into great masses, and which regards the working people, not as human beings, having all an equal right to that happiness which proceeds from an abundance of food and raiment; but as a sort of two-legged machines, whose existence at all ought not to be deemed of any importance except as it may be made conducive to the raising of taxes and to the drawing of property into those great masses which make nobles and country-gentlemen.

It is thought by some naturalists that the character of mind, and that even the very nature, of certain men, undergo a complete change at some period of their life. One would think that you had experienced a change of this sort. That fine passage in the writings of the old Chancellor Fortescue; that passage, in which he lauds the laws of England, because one effect of them is to cause the people “to have
“plenty of *flesh and fish every*
“*where*; to be clothed in good
“*woollens throughout*; to have
“good bedding and furniture, and
“that in great store; to have an
“abundance of all things con-
“ducing to make man’s life easy.”

"and happy:" this passage of old Fortescue, to which I have so often referred, was first pointed out to me BY YOU, as a contrast to the misery experienced by this same English people in the present day. Nay, you once read this passage yourself, from your place in the House of Commons, just about eight years ago. They laughed at you; but so they did when Ogden's rupture was the subject. At that time you deplored the misery of the people of England. Nothing was heard from your lips but attacks upon the system which had produced that misery; but now, when the misery is greatly increased, is far greater than it was eight years ago; when it notoriously goes on steadily increasing; when you see from returns laid before your own House, that the annual convictions at the assizes have swelled up, during the last twenty years, from *two thousand* to *fourteen thousand*: having all this before your eyes, you have now the hardihood to state, in that same House of Commons, that the people of this country, that the "*entire of the community*" live in a state of prosperity and abundance, and that this is the general condition of the people. You call upon the world to admire the spectacle which we

exhibit; and you censure and ridicule the French people for having successfully resisted a law, the natural tendency of which was to draw property i to great masses.

Can you bring us from France any instances of starvation? Can you bring us any instances of suffering from want? We have had, during the last eleven years, four famines in the midst of plenty. Our churches almost still echo with the thanksgivings for a plentiful harvest. In the midst of this plenty, a part of the people are actually starving, and a very large part indeed are pining in want. The system which you admire makes a few great proprietors, a few great renters, a few gentlemen, three times the number of small, mock gentlemen, and millions of potato-eating slaves. The system to which the French people are attached is that which secures to the millions, something like ownership in the soil. Scarcely any labourer in France is solely dependent on wages. The far greater part are more or less of proprietors, each of them has something of a store in his cottage. Is not this better than to see a swarm of miserable hirelings, who are constantly in debt to the village shop, whose harvest wages

are mortgaged before-hand ; who have no cow, pig, hen, sheaf of corn, bundle of flax or lot of wool ; nothing in the granary ; not a farthing's worth of any thing that is not doled out of a Saturday night from the haughty bull-frog, or from the grinding overseer ? The whole body of labourers in this kingdom are constantly *in debt* ; theirs, like all the dealers' and all the manufacturers' and the Government's itself, is a miserable system of anticipation. A single day's illness with the father of the family makes the whole family paupers. You know nothing of France, if you do not know that the state of the working people there is the reverse of this ; and yet you ridicule them because they seem determined not to exchange their system for ours. When you talk of *national wealth*, you leave the great mass of the people out of the question. You can see no wealth that is not visible in fine houses, fine roads, immense warehouses, manufactories like palaces, soldiers covered with gold and silver lace and prancing about upon horses as fat as ortolans. You forget that every labouring man makes a *part* of the nation, and that his cow, his hens, his good warm clothing and bedding make part of the national wealth. Such

wealth formerly existed here and in great abundance : taxes and paper-money have converted this wealth into fine carriages and horses, and all the other showy things belonging to this false and wicked system. The working people having been beggared by this system. The poor-rates have come in order to prevent them from committing deeds of desperation. These are swelled up to an enormous sum annually. Turn this annual sum into a principal of thirty years' purchase, and you will find it amount to more than two hundred millions of pounds sterling. This is a *debt*, in fact, contracted by the system ; contracted with the working classes, to pay them for the food and the clothing and the fuel and the lodging, which the system has taken away by taxes and paper-money. This is the true view of the matter ; and while this is as clear as daylight to every man of common sense, you talk about the "*national wealth*," created by this "*accumulation of property*." Look at this debt of more than two hundred millions, contracted in order to keep a half-starving people quiet. This is your national wealth. You have no other that you can point out, if you were to

rant and bawl away to the end of your life.

But, what do we want more than the *subscription* now going on in London? There is the *law*; a law which effectually provides that all necessitous persons shall be relieved by assessments upon the land. There is the law authorizing, and, indeed, compelling the overseers, and the magistrates, to provide necessities for all persons in want. If this law be enforced, how comes starvation to exist in England? If this law cannot be enforced; if we be come to this pass; if even the land itself cannot supply necessities to the indigent; is it not to be presumptuous beyond adequate description to applaud this state of things; to cry up this system, and to censure the people of France because they resolutely set their faces against the first dawn of efforts making an approach towards this same system? What are the overseers and the magistrates in Lancashire and Yorkshire about? Where is the law of the land? Why, the distress is so great and so general, that even this law is unavailing, and poor Jonathan and his wife, and ten thousands of others, must perish in the face of that law which Blackstone says securely provides for the preventing

of any man from suffering from want.

Now, Sir, when you have reflected on all this, muster up, if you can, when the occasion serves, to repeat your rambling, slapdash, aristocratical assertions. We gather this from your rambles, namely, that you anxiously wish the present system to remain unshaken: this is what we gather, and especially from your attack on the Paisley petition; and, I venture to predict that the result, and that at no very distant day, will disappoint all your hopes and expectations, and will give you a source of mortification to the end of your life. You are now an openly-declared man of the system: with that system you must stand; or, with it, you must sink into disgrace and finally into oblivion.

I take the following sensible letter from the *Morning Herald* of the 5th of this month. I insert it as worthy the attention of my readers.

To the Editor of the Morning Herald.

SIR—When we consider the nature of the measure brought forward by the Government for the relief of

the country, which is to authorize the admission of foreign corn into our markets, on paying of certain duties, we should almost be justified in concluding that the Government, instead of desiring to assuage our distresses, was studious only of the means of laying fresh burdens upon a starving people. I think I have shown, in my letter to you of the 3d inst., that the admission of foreign corn, unaccompanied by a repeal of taxes on agriculture, would have the effect of levying, in the shape of duties, an additional tax upon the community. I will now make a short remark as to the amount of such tax. It is stated, in your paper of the 3d, that the quantity of wheat and wheat-flour in bond is estimated at 333,891 quarters. This quantity, though sufficient only for two or three days' consumption for the country, would, on its admission, take from the people, in duties, the sum of 172,080 *l.*, exclusively of what would be raised by the duties on barley, oats, beans, rye, peas, and meal, making in all, probably, two or three times that amount. This, I hope, is pretty well to begin with.

Now, though it is sufficiently clear that the object of laying any duty at all, in the present instance, on the bonded corn, is to prevent the importer from obtaining any unreasonable profit for it in the home market, yet surely there can be no reason why the proceeds of the duties should be appropriated by the Government to itself; since the relief to be afforded to the manufacturer is to be given at the expense of the landed interest.

What I would recommend, therefore, in order to render the proposed measure truly efficient, would be, to cause the amount of the duties derivable from the admission of the bonded corn into our market to be distributed to the poor suffering weavers, who may otherwise, from a want of the ability to purchase, be withheld from deriving the full be-

nefit of the present measure. Should this plan, however, be rejected, it is clear that the amount belongs in justice to the landed interest; in whose favour, therefore, *some tax, to the amount of the proceeds of those duties should be repealed.*—I am, Sir, your most obedient servant,

H. JESSUP WRIGHT.

*Soanning, near Reading,
May 5, 1826.*

SUBSCRIPTIONS

Received 1st May, 1826.

From Leeds—by Mr. Mann.

From a few friends at Acton.

From Cambridge—by Mr. John Headly, Stapleford.

From Wiltshire.

From Coventry—by Mr. Hickley.

From Newark.

From Norfolk and Norwich—by Mr. Geo. Wright.

From Garratt, near Manchester—by Mr. Whitworth.

From Rochdale—by Mr. Chadwick and Mr. Coomb.

From some friends in Yorkshire—by John Foster, Esq.

From a few friends at Fyfield.

From Walton, Norfolk.

In the list of collections received on the 6th April, the name of Mr. Thomas Smith, of Liverpool, was accidentally omitted.

MARKETS.

Average Prices of CORN throughout ENGLAND, for the week ending April 29.

Per Quarter.

	s.	d.		s.	d.
Wheat ..	60	9	Rye	35	4
Barley ..	51	4	Beans ...	37	8
Oats	24	4	Pease ...	39	5

Total Quantity of Corn returned as Sold in the Maritime Districts, for the Week ended April 29.

	Qrs.		Qrs.
Wheat ..	41,329	Rye	273
Barley ..	15,374	Beans ...	3,000
Oats ...	29,031	Pease ...	614

Corn Exchange, Mark Lane.

Quantities and Prices of British Corn, &c. sold and delivered in this Market, during the week ended Saturday, April 29.

	Qrs.	£.	s.	d.		s.	d.
Wheat..	5,679	for 18,338	0	7	Average,	64	6
Barley..	4,127	..	6,452	10	1.....	31	3
Oats..	12,296	..	16,251	11	11.....	26	5
Rye....	88	..	140	1	6.....	31	10
Beans..	1,398	2,719	2	9.....	38	10
Pease ..	449	854	16	10.....	38	0

Friday, May 5.—The arrivals of all sorts of Grain are good. The unexpected measure of Government relative to the bonded Corn has completely stagnated the trade, and Wheat is reported, nominally, 4s. to 5s. per quarter lower than Monday last. Barley and Oats are each 2s. per quarter cheaper, with little doing. There is no trade for any other article.

Monday, May 8.—The two resolutions which last week passed the

House of Commons are in substance as follows:—1st, That all foreign Corn, bonded prior to the 2d of this month, is to be liberated for home consumption at a duty, on Wheat, of 12s.; Beans, Pease, and Rye, 8s.; Barley, 6s.; and Oats, 4s. per quarter. 2dly, That Government are to have a discretionary power, during the recess of Parliament, of admitting 500,000 quarters more of foreign Corn, without restriction either as to price or duty.

The arrivals of last week were moderate, except of Flour and Oats, which were tolerably good. This morning the fresh supply of all descriptions of Corn is small. There has been rather more business doing in the Wheat trade to-day than on Friday last, at a decline of 4s. to 5s. per quarter since this day se'nnight.

Barley has suffered a reduction of 1s. to 2s. per quarter. Beans are 1s., and Pease of both kinds 1s. per quarter lower than last Monday. The Oat trade has experienced a check in common with other articles, and sales have been made at 2s. per quarter less than the quotations of Monday last, with rather more business doing than on Friday. There is no alteration in the Flour trade. Considerable advances have been asked on bonded Corn, but no sales can yet be effected.

Price of Bread.—The price of the 4lb. Loaf is stated at 9½d. by the full-priced Bakers.

Price on board Ship as under.

Flour, per sack	50s. — 55s.
— Seconds	42s. — 46s.
— North Country ..	40s. — 43s.

Account of Wheat, &c. arrived in the Port of London, from May 1 to May 6, both inclusive.

	Qrs.		Qrs.
Wheat..	5,500	Tares	349
Barley ..	761	Linseed ..	522
Malt....	3,634	Rapeseed .	—
Oats	20,272	Brank ..	414
Beans ...	1,299	Mustard ..	—
Flour	8,730	Flax	—
Rye	—	Hemp	—
Pease....	366	Seeds ...	—

Foreign.—Wheat, 1,589; Barley, 200; and Oats, 9,521 quarters.

Monday, May 8.—The arrivals from Ireland last week were 831 firkins of Butter, and 2,242 bales of Bacon; and from Foreign Ports 6,147 casks of Butter.

HOPS.

Price per Cwt. in the Borough:

Monday, May 8.—The accounts from Kent and Sussex state the Hop bines as having received much injury from the late frosts; flea increases; so general is the alarm, that many have withdrawn their samples; what are on sale readily fetch 20s. per cwt. advance for New, and 10s. to 15s. for Old, since last week. The market is now nearly cleared of New and Yearling Hops.

Maidstone, May 4.—The continuance of cold weather, with the frosty nights, is far from congenial to the Hop plantations; the bines in many places lock very bad; there is a great deal of flea, and they want warm weather. There are now so few Hops in the planters' hands, that we have here nothing doing in the trade, which we hear is getting higher.

Worcester, May 3.—On Saturday 175 pockets were weighed; another rise in price took place, and the average may now be stated at 10l. to 11l. 11s. This rise may be in some degree attributed to the unfavourable accounts from the plantation; the frosty nights and cold winds have backened the most vigorous bine; the plants generally come up *unsuitly*, and many, which at the throwing down appeared healthy, are dying away. In some yards the flea has very much increased.

SMITHFIELD, Monday, May 8.

Per Stone of 8 pounds (alive).

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Beef	3	8	to	4 10
Mutton ...	4	2	—	5 4
Veal	5	8	—	6 0
Pork	4	8	—	5 2
Lamb	5	6	—	6 4

Beasts ...	2,707	Sheep ..	18,500
Calves ...	163	Pigs ...	160

NEWGATE, (same day.)

Per Stone of 8 pounds (dead).

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Beef	3	4	to	4 2
Mutton ...	4	0	—	5 0
Veal	3	8	—	5 8
Pork	4	0	—	6 0
Lamb	4	0	—	5 8

LEADENHALL, (same day.)

Per Stone of 8 pounds (dead).

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Beef	3	4	to	4 4
Mutton ...	4	4	—	5 2
Veal	3	4	—	5 10
Pork	4	0	—	5 6
Lamb	4	4	—	7 0

COAL MARKET, May 5.

Ships at Market. Ships sold. Price.

58½ Newcastle..	33½	26s. 0d. to 36s. 6d.
10½ Sunderland..	10½	33s. 6d. — 37s. 6d.

POTATOES.

SPITALFIELDS, per Ton.

Ware	£3 10	to	6 0
Middlings.....	3 0	—	0 0
Chats	2 15	—	0 0
Common Red..	0 0	—	0 0
Onions, 0s. 0d.—0s. 0d.	per bush.		

BOROUGH, per Ton.

Ware	£3 10	to	5 10
Middlings.....	2 0	—	3 0
Chats.....	2 0	—	0 0
Common Red..	3 0	—	5 10

HAY and STRAW, per Load.

Smithfield.—Hay....70s. to 90s.

Straw...34s. to 36s.

Clover.. 85s. to 110s.

St. James's.—Hay.... 60s. to 100s.

Straw .. 33s. to 43s.

Clover ..70s. to 105s.

Whitechapel.—Hay....66s. to 90s.

Straw...36s. to 42s.

Clover..86s. to 110s.

COUNTRY CORN MARKETS.

By the QUARTER, excepting where otherwise named; from Wednesday to Saturday last, inclusive.

The Scotch Markets are the Returns of the Week before.

	Wheat.			Barley.			Oats.			Beans.			Pease.		
	s.	to s.	d.	s.	to s.	d.	s.	to s.	d.	s.	to s.	d.	s.	to s.	d.
Aylesbury	56	62	0	33	36	0	28	30	0	42	48	0	0	0	0
Banbury	58	64	4	30	31	0	24	28	0	40	48	0	0	0	0
Basingstoke	55	68	0	28	30	0	23	28	0	46	50	0	0	0	0
Bridport.....	55	63	0	32	34	0	22	24	0	46	48	0	0	0	0
Chelmsford.....	48	70	0	29	31	0	25	30	0	34	38	0	36	40	0
Derby.....	58	63	0	27	32	0	24	29	0	41	44	0	0	0	0
Devizes.....	48	60	0	29	35	0	26	30	0	46	52	0	0	0	0
Dorchester.....	52	64	0	27	31	0	22	27	0	46	52	0	0	0	0
Exeter.....	60	70	0	32	34	0	23	26	0	28	32	0	0	0	0
Eye	54	60	0	30	32	0	22	26	0	34	36	0	32	34	0
Guildford.....	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Henley	57	73	0	28	34	0	23	30	0	45	53	0	45	50	0
Horncastle.....	50	55	0	23	25	0	17	20	0	33	35	0	0	0	0
Hungerford.....	48	67	0	24	34	0	20	30	0	40	56	0	0	0	0
Lewes.....	56	70	0	0	0	0	24	28	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Newbury	42	70	0	26	30	0	23	32	0	42	50	0	44	48	0
Northampton....	56	62	0	28	30	0	23	26	0	38	44	0	0	0	0
Nottingham	58	0	0	29	0	0	25	0	0	42	0	0	0	0	0
Reading	61	75	0	26	32	0	19	27	0	44	50	0	43	50	0
Stamford.....	55	57	0	27	0	0	18	23	0	24	45	0	0	0	0
Stowmarket	52	66	0	24	30	0	23	27	0	31	0	0	0	0	0
Swansea.....	66	0	0	30	0	0	22	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Truro	67	0	0	35	0	0	30	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Uxbridge	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Warminster.....	46	56	0	25	34	0	22	28	0	42	52	0	0	0	0
Winchester.....	61	0	0	29	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Dalkeith*	28	33	0	0	25	0	18	22	6	18	20	0	16	18	0
Haddington*	25	33	0	8	24	0	15	21	6	15	19	6	15	18	0

* Dalkeith and Haddington are given by the boll.—The Scotch boll for Wheat, Rye, Pease, and Beans, is three per cent. more than 4 bushels. The boll of Barley and Oats, is about 6 bushels Winchester, or as 6 to 8 compared with the English quarter.

Liverpool, May 2.—At this day's market the attendance was very inconsiderable, with very little demand for any article of the trade. Irish Wheats may be considered at a reduction in value of 2d. per 70 lb. from the prices of this day se'nnight; Oats 1d. per 45 lb., Malt 1s., and Malting Barley 2s. per quarter; Flour 1s. per 280 lb., and Oatmeal 1s. per 240 lb. The weather continues highly favourable for the late sown and coming crops.

Imported into Liverpool from the 25th April to 1st May, 1826, inclusive:—Wheat, 7,788; Barley, 958; Oats, 24,267; Malt, 3,048; Beans, 644; and Pease, 87 quarters. Flour, 3,379 sacks, per 280 lbs. Oatmeal, 2,763 packs, per 240 lbs.

Norwich, May 6.—Our market to-day was completely stagnated in consequence of the proposed measures of Ministers, viz., the liberation of the bonded Wheat, and allowing the importation of foreign Corn by the payment of a duty of 12s. per quarter during the recess; what little was sold, was sold at a reduction of 8s. per quarter; prices of Red from 48s. to 54s.; White to 56s.; Barley 22s. to 27s.; Oats 21s. to 28s.; Beans 34s. to 38s.; Pease 34s. to 39s. per quarter; and Flour 45s. per sack.

Bristol, May 5.—Our Corn markets at this place are extremely dull, and scarcely any sales can be effected. The prices hereafter named are as correct as can at present be ascertained:—Wheat, from 5s. to 8s.; Barley, 3s. to 4s. 6d.; Oats, 2s. 1d. to 3s. 3d.; Beans, 3s. to 5s. 6d.; and Malt, 5s. to 7s. per bushel, Imperial. Flour, Seconds, 30s. to 45s. per bag.

Birmingham, May 4.—A moderate show of all kinds of Grain at to-day's market, and but very little business doing, in consequence of the expected liberation of what is in bond. Wheat from 4d. to 6d. per 60 lbs.; and Barley 3d. to 4d. per bushel lower than on this day se'nnight; in other Grain no alteration.

Ipswich, May 6.—We had to-day a small supply of all Corn, but the prices of every thing were considerably lower, in consequence of the recent measures of Ministers. Prices as follow:—Wheat, 54s. to 62s.; Barley, 24s. to 31s.; and Beans, 36s. to 38s. per quarter.

Wisbech, May 6.—In consequence of the proceedings in Parliament relative to importation of Corn, the trade here was nearly at a stand, there being but little disposition in either buyer or seller to do business until the question is determined.

Wakefield, May 5.—The resolution taken by Government to release the bonded Corn has produced a considerable sensation in the market, and a reduction of from 2s. to 3s. per quarter in the price of Wheat, of which there was a good supply at this day's market. No one knowing what effect may be produced by the new measure, trade is dull, even at the reduced prices. Shelling has declined 1s. per load, and Oats are dull of sale, and rather lower.

Manchester, May 6.—In consequence of the admission of bonded Grain and Flour, for home consumption, our market may be said to be at a stand, the buyers conjecturing it will have the effect of lowering prices materially, whereas from the scarcity of our own produce it cannot reduce prices much; however, at present, the panic has its weight, and the market has given way 6d. to 8d. on Wheat, and 3d. to 4d. on Oats. Flour has also given way about 3s. per sack.

COUNTRY CATTLE AND MEAT MARKETS, &c.

Norwich Castle Meadow, May 6.—The supply of fat Cattle to this day's market was very large, and several lots remained unsold, prices from 7s. to 8s. per stone of 14lbs., sinking offal. Store Stock was also supplied in large numbers; what few Scots were sold, were from 4s. to 4s. 6d. per stone when fat. Short Horns, of which we had several lots of good ones, to 3s. 9d. Sheep penned in large numbers; Shearlings but few, and those sold at 44s. Pigs in great plenty, and very cheap.

AVERAGE PRICE OF CORN, sold in the Maritime Counties of England and Wales, for the Week ended April 29, 1826.

	Wheat.		Barley.		Oats.	
	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.
London*	63	9	32	5	27	2
Essex	64	2	33	1	25	2
Kent	64	6	32	4	26	3
Sussex	59	4	0	0	23	4
Suffolk	59	10	31	7	27	8
Cambridgeshire	57	8	31	6	22	6
Norfolk	59	0	28	10	24	0
Lincolnshire	59	3	28	10	21	6
Yorkshire	58	2	29	5	21	1
Durham	61	2	0	0	27	4
Northumberland	54	10	32	5	24	7
Cumberland	62	3	30	7	22	9
Westmoreland	66	7	39	0	24	4
Lancashire	64	3	36	0	25	7
Cheshire	64	0	40	10	23	10
Gloucestershire	64	4	34	3	25	9
Somersetshire	61	5	34	10	21	4
Monmouthshire	61	2	39	8	24	6
Devonshire	61	10	33	2	19	5
Cornwall	61	9	31	9	25	7
Dorsetshire	59	2	29	10	24	0
Hampshire	60	2	30	6	25	7
North Wales	66	1	37	3	24	1
South Wales	57	7	27	10	18	3

* The London Average is always that of the Week preceding.